

A SECOND

LETTER

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE.

IN WHICH

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| <p>I. Notice is taken of Two Passages in Mr. JANICON's <i>Present State of the UNITED PROVINCES</i>, highly injurious to the Honour of GREAT-BRITAIN.</p> <p>II. A brief Account of the Progress and Importance of the Affair of EMDEN.</p> | <p>III. DENDERMONDE, as a Barrier-Town, considered.</p> <p>IV. The Partition of King WILLIAM's Patrimony, as Prince of ORANGE, stated.</p> |
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To which is added,

Farther REASONS

Against Imposing A

GENERAL EXCISE

UPON

BRITONS;

Drawn from the EFFECTS of EXCISES in
FRANCE and HOLLAND.

By CHARLES FORMAN, Esq;

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SECOND

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES





A

LETTER.

S I R,

Paris, Feb. 28, 1733.



WHILE our News-Papers were filled every Day with dismal Accounts of the Damage which the *Dutch* had sustained by the Worms, and the Danger *North-Holland*, if not the whole Republick, was in, of rendering back all its Riches to the *Ocean*, I suspended my second Letter to the Merchants of *Great-Britain*: But as the *Amsterdam Gazette* has lately construed our Concern and Compassion, for our Rivals in Commerce, into Malice and Design, I thought myself disengaged from any further Obligations of Pity. I order'd my Letter to the Merchants to be printed; and as I suppose it has made its appearance by this Time, I take leave to address *This* to you, as a Supplement to it.

IN that Piece I have given my Countrymen a faithful and succinct, tho' brief Account, of
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the Rise, Progress, and Growth of the *Dutch East-India Company*; taken from an Author whom the *Dutch* themselves cannot deny to be a very favourable one to them: I have laid before *Britons* some of the numberless Wrongs they have received from the *Hollanders* in *India*: And, in short, I have said enough to engage you, Sir, to let the World see, by your Conduct, that you are not only an *Englishman*, but an honest Man, and a Statesman. Nevertheless, I still forgot to insert a Passage which I find in Mr. *Janicon*, and which I believe requires the Attention of *Great-Britain*, tho' perhaps it may not meet with her Resentments.

“ Enfin, says that Gentleman, * Page 71, si
 “ la Republique Fait des Rois, elle ne s'en
 “ Donne point.” *In short, if the Republick makes Kings, she gives none of them to herself.* I have translated this Passage verbatim, because such a Translation exactly hits the Design and Meaning of the Author; and I now ask you whether, without such a Demonstration as I here give you, any Man would believe that this Expression could fall from the Pen of a Minister to the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, even at the Time that his Master receiv'd a very extraordinary yearly *Pension* or *Subsidy* from *Great-Britain*? Would *Britons* believe that
 such

* Etat present de la Republique des Provinces Unies, et pais qui en dependent. par M. Francois Michel Janicon, Agent de S. A. S. Monseigneur Le Landgrave de Hesse Cassel. Tome premier. A la Haye chez Jean Van Duren. 1729,

such Words could be found in a Book printed, too, under the very Eyes of the States-General themselves? But really, these are not Times to wonder at any Thing. Pray, Sir, what Kings has this *High* and *Mighty* Republick ever *made*, and to what Nations has she *given* them? Which of the two Powers was it that bore the Expence of the present Emperor's Expedition to *Spain*, and supported him there? Who contributed most to get *Sicily*, *Naples*, the *Milanese* and the *Netherlands* for the House of *Austria*? Was it not *Great-Britain*? The Emperor *Leopold*'s Circumstances did not permit him, by any Means, to bear the Weight of a Burthen, which no Nation, under Heaven, would have taken upon itself but *Britain* alone? As to the *Dutch*, what Expence they were at in the last War, was demonstrably with a View to get all the *Spanish Netherlands* into their Clutches, under the Notion of a Barrier; and, not content with this, they were also to have *Lisle*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, and all the Places taken, or that might be taken from *France* on that Side. This was the more compleatly to engross all the Trade of *Flanders* from us; and not only so, but to exclude us entirely from any manner of Trade, or even Communication with the greatest Part of the Empire; for which you may please to consult the *Barrier Treaty* in 1709, which, had it taken place, would have made his Imperial Majesty but a mock Sovereign in the *Low-Countries*.

It is plain, then, that Mr. *Janicon* could not have the Emperor in View when he made this lofty Panegyrick upon the *Dutch*; but rather squinted at the *Revolution* in *England* in the Year 1688: *Holland*, indeed, sent over the Prince of *Orange* to us, and she was very well paid for her Pains; but it was *England* that made him a King. Therefore, if you can discover no sly Insinuation, or rather Insult over *Britain*, in the Words, “ Si la Republique “ Fait des Rois, &c.” I protest that all the Complaisance I have for you never shall engage me to be of your Opinion, until Mr. *Janicon* produces some of the Kings which this Republick has made. Observe the Terms he uses upon this Occasion; MAKES; GIVES. Now what could the *Roman* Historians have said more in the greatest Splendor and Power of their Commonwealth; when the Senate gave and took away Crowns and Scepters at pleasure? When the *Dutch* set up for making Kings and giving them to their Neighbours, it is high Time for *Britons* to look to themselves; and, indeed, this Expression in Mr. *Janicon* is no more than what may be daily met with in the Mouth of every *Dutchman*; than what the *Dutch* Ambassador said to the *Great Mogol* after the *Revolution*; and than what Mr. *Osborne* meant when he called the *Dutch* our *Supporters* and *Preservers*.

IF we can depend upon Mr. *Janicon*, it is one of their High-Mightinesses standing Maxims

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to act *en Maitre* with Princes, and treat them like Vassals or Tributaries to whom they have a Right to prescribe Rules for their Conduct.—

“ Survient-il quelques Differens, says he Page
 “ 53, entre des Puissances, qui puissent causer
 “ une Guerre dont les Suites seroient prejudi-
 “ ciables à la Republique, elle a Soins d’abord
 “ de s’employer à les accommoder, et quel-
 “ ques fois *même à les y contraindre*, lorsque
 “ les voies de la *Douceur* n’ont été d’aucun
 “ fruit.” *If any Disputes happen amongst Princes, which are likely to cause a War that may prove prejudicial to the Republick, she immediately endeavours to reconcile them; and sometimes even constrains them to a Reconciliation, when gentle Methods produce no Effect.* By this Passage we see what a Figure Mr. *Fanicon* gives his Heroes the *Dutch*; for if Princes will not immediately submit to their Dictates, and obey their Orders, he says they *constrain* them: This is *High and Mighty* indeed. The Word *Douceur* is also very well worth Notice. Had the Author said *Mediation*, no Objection could be fairly made to it; but, upon all such Occasions, *Douceur* implies a Superiority over *Those* to whom it is used; and I am persuaded that Mr. *Fanicon* himself meant it so; for he says, in his Preface, that he consulted several Members of the Regency when he was writing his Book; and, no doubt, but they furnished him with all the Ideas he has of their mighty Power and Superiority.

By

By a War that may prove prejudicial to the Republick, we cannot naturally understand any thing but the Obstruction it may cause to some Branch or other of the Trade of *Holland*; so that, according to this Maxim, if any Prince is injured by his Neighbours, either in Property or his Honour, he cannot do himself Justice without drawing the Indignation of the Republick upon him, if her Commerce seems to be any way affected by the War he makes to obtain Satisfaction.

THIS *constraining* Temper has shew'd itself in full Light in the Business of *Embden*, which has made so much Noise in *Europe* since the Year 1721, and has fallen almost wholly within your Administration. As the Interest of *Great-Britain* seems to be deeply concerned in this Affair, I shall give you, and the rest of my Countrymen, a sufficient Detail of the Dispute between the Prince of *East-Frizeland*, and his refractory Subjects the States of that Country, and the Magistrates of *Embden*.

As the River *Ems* runs through *Westphalia*, most of the Trade of *that* and the adjacent Countries is carried on at *Embden*, the Capital of *East-Frizeland*. This City is seated at the Mouth of the *Ems*, where it falls into the *Dallaard*, a Gulph made, in *December* 1277, between the Provinces of *East-Frizeland* and *Groningen*, by an Irruption of the *German Ocean*, which broke the Dikes, and drowned Thirty-three Villages and Eleven Hamlets.

The

The Port, where Ships can enter boldly under full sail, is so very good and convenient, that *Embden* is become a Place of vast Trade, but the *Dutch* entirely enjoy the Advantage of it at present; tho' the *English* once found it a Town of such Consequence to their Trade with *Germany*, that their Ships crowded to it, when, by the shutting up of the *Scheld*, they were forced out of the Trade of *Antwerp*. This Step in the *English* put the *Dutch* at work to circumvent them, and they managed their Business so well, that they found Means to introduce a Garison of their own Troops into *Embden*, in the Year 1603: So adieu to the Trade of *England*, on that Side, ever since. Tho' a *Dutch* Garison in *Embden* might have been reasonably supposed very prejudicial to our Commerce in those Parts, yet King *James* the First's wise and honest Ministers prevail'd upon their *pacifick* Master to become Mediator between *Ennon* the Third, † Count of *East-Frizeland* on the one part, and the States-General and the Town of *Embden* (which had rebelled against her Sovereign a few Years before) on the other Part. By that Mediation the Agreement of *Delfzyl* between the Count and the Town was renew'd in 1606; and the *Dutch* had no additional Advantage given them over our Trade, by having the Fort of *Lieroord*

† This Title was changed in that of Prince by the Emperor in 1622.

* *Lieroord* put into their Hands. This Fort, where the *Dutch* have kept a strong Garison ever since, is four Leagues above *Embden*, and near a great Borough called *Lier*. Now, Sir, what do you think of this hopeful Conduct in King *James* the First's Ministers? By this Mediation they strengthen'd the Hands of the *Dutch*, and enlarged their Trade on that Side, to the manifest Prejudice of *England*, as they had done and continued to do in other Places: Nevertheless, those very Ministers had mercenary Fellows in pay to make Panegyricks upon them, and Lie to their Country; as some other Ministers have had since.

BUT tho' the Disputes, which had been industriously raised and fomented by certain People, to serve their own lucrative Views and mercenary Ends, between *Edsard* the Second, Count of *East-Frizeland*, and the Town of *Embden*, were accommodated in the Years 1598 and 1606, to the Advantage of the *Dutch*, and Disadvantage of the Sovereign of that Country, they broke out again some Years ago. Whereupon Prince *George Albert* made several Complaints to the *Imperial* Court in the Years 1720 and 1721 against his turbulent Subjects; and the Emperor gave out a Decree entirely

* Acquisitions of the *Dutch*, and the Enlargement of their Trade have generally been the Consequences of all our Mediations for them; as if our Ministers had no manner of Regard for the Interest and Commerce of their own Country.

tirely conformable to the Complaints and Pretensions of the Prince of *East-Frizeland*. But the States of that Country, and the Magistrates of *Embden*, shewing no manner of Regard to that Decree, the Prince had recourse again to the Emperor's Authority; and his *Imperial* Majesty gave a new Decree the 28th of *August*, 1722, confirming the former.

UPON this the Magistrates and the States published a Manifesto in 1723. The Prince gave a full and particular Answer to this Manifesto; but the States and the Magistrates pretended, nevertheless, that they were injured by the Emperor's Decree, and would not submit to it, but upon such Conditions, Reservations, and Exceptions, as were not admitted by the *Imperial* Court; because, no doubt, they were unjust and dishonourable: Wherefore, finding themselves threaten'd with an *Imperial* Commission, they had Recourse to their old Reserve in *petto*, the Protection of the Republick. In the mean time, the Emperor had charged the late King *Augustus*, as Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Wolfembuttel* with the Execution of his Decree; and the Sub-Delegates of those Princes came into *East-Frizeland*. They began their Commission by breaking the College of Administrators: They removed the Treasury Chest from *Embden* to *Aurick*: They broke the Assembly of the States, and convoked a New One, to which neither the Deputies of *Embden*, nor any of their Adherents,

herents, were called: And, in short, they established a new Administration. Upon which, their High-Mightinesses, the States-General of the *United Provinces*, writ to the Prince, in *February* 1725: But their Letter not producing the Effect they wanted, they sent to him Mynheer *de Lewe d'Adwart* of *Groningen*, who, notwithstanding his great Abilities, had as little Success. After his Return, their High-Mightinesses writ again to the Prince: They likewise order'd Mynheer *Hop*, their Minister at *London*, to make Remonstrances to his *Britannick* Majesty upon this Head: And sent a Deputation to the King of *Prussia* about it; but the *Imperial* Decree of the 8th of *June* 1723, having taken the *Conservatorium* from him, his *Prussian* Majesty could not enter into the Affair.

As the Prince of *East-Frizeland*'s Answer to the last Letter from the States-General, was but a Confirmation of what he had said to Mynheer *de Lewe d'Adwart*, their High-Mightinesses resolv'd the 6th of *July* 1726, to re-inforce the Garrison of *Embden* with two Batallions, and Orders to the Commandant to repel Force with Force. This Resolution they communicated to the King of *Prussia*, in hopes to engage his Majesty to concur with them, and enter into their Measures. They also acquainted the *British* and *French* Ministers with it; and order'd their Deputies to represent to those Ministers, that in Case the Republick should be obliged to support

port her * *Right* by Force, she would be constrained to demand † the Assistance of their *Britannick* and *Most Christian* Majesties, in vertue of the *Tripple Alliance*, in 1717.

THE 23d of the same Month, they sent another Letter to the Prince; and the 19th of *August* they returned an Answer to One they had received from the Sub-Delegates. The 30th of *August* they writ again to the Sub-Delegates, who answer'd them the 19th of *September*; and, after supporting the Emperor's Right in regard to his Decrees, promised their High-Mightinesses that, if the || *Renitens* would make the first Advance, give reasonable Satisfaction to their Prince, and shew a due Respect to the Sovereign Judge of the Empire; they, the Sub-Delegates, would do all that lay in their Power to forward the Re-establishment of the publick Tranquility of *East-Frizeland*.

BUT how just and reasonable soever this Answer was, it is to be supposed that it squared either with the turbulent Spirits of the Magistrates, or the private Designs of some other
B 2 People;

* That is, to keep Garisons in *Emdden* and *Lieroord*, to which they have no Right, but what was extorted.

† This is really pleasant. The *Dutch* had the Modesty to demand Assistance from *Great-Britain*, to keep them in Possession of Places, in Prejudice to the lawful Sovereign of them, when those very Places, by being in the Hands of the *Dutch*, debar us from trading with a considerable Part of *Germany*.

|| The Factious Party against the Prince of *East-Frizeland*, as some People called them; or the *Dutch Partizans*, as they were called by others.

People; for towards the End of the Year 1727, the Sub-Delegates were obliged to proceed to Action, and seized several Manors depending upon *Emden*. Upon this the States-General re-inforced their Garison there, and tried what their Remonstrances at the Court of *Vienna* would do. In the mean Time, they had Recourse again to their *Britannick* and *Most Christian* Majesties, who, it is said, promised to second the † Instances of their High-Mightinesses upon that Occasion; but their Majesties gave no Answer to the *Dutch* Proposition, to make this Affair a *CASUS FÆDERIS*, a Case of Alliance, and to bring it to the Congress of *Soissons*, which was just then open'd.

DURING these Transactions, the States-General understanding that the Prince of *East-Frizeland* was soliciting the *Imperial* Court for an *Imperial* Decree, * *De injungenda abduetione Militis Batavorum*, to order the *Dutch* Troops to evacuate *Frizeland*, their High-Mightinesses's Plenipotentiaries at *Soissons* gave to *Those* of *Great-Britain* and *France*, Memorials of the 28th of *July* 1728, in which they said the States-General were persuaded that, in Case their Garison in *Emden* should happen

† About their keeping Garisons in *Emden* and *Lieroord*.

* This plainly shews that keeping Garisons in *Emden* and *Lieroord*, so prejudicial to *England*, was the chief Point the *Dutch* had in View, in espousing the Magistrates of *Emden*, and the States of *East-Frizeland*, in their Disobedience to their Prince.

happen to be attack'd, the Two Crowns would look upon this Affair to be a *Casus Fæderis*, and send them the † *Succours* stipulated by the *Tripple-Alliance*.

SIR, I leave this Matter here ; for it would be too tedious to enter into any further Detail of it, and recite all the Steps, Letters, Manifesto's, Rescripts, and other Writings on both Sides ; because, in your Ministerial Capacity, you could not possibly be a Stranger to the least Article of them : And I presume that nothing was done in regard to his Majesty's Part in this Affair without your Opinion and Advice. I have gone far enough to shew the *extraordinary* Conduct of the *Dutch*, and the *Reasonableness* of their Expectation, that his Majesty should send them Troops, or any other Aid whatever, to keep them in Possession of *Embsden* and *Lieroord*, which *deprive us of the Trade of the Ems, and the Countries it Waters*. You know that what I have said in this Account is very just ; that it contains no Chicanery or Misrepresentation. Wherefore, if *Embsden* is of Consequence to our Commerce ; if it is a Part of those *Dutch* Dominions, which Mr. *Osborne*

† Here we see the *Dutch* again persisting to have *Succours* sent from the Court of *Great-Britain*, to support them in Designs diametrically opposite to the Interest of the Merchants of *Great-Britain* : Whereas the Ministry might, with much more Justice to their Country, have taken the other Side of the Question, and espoused the Interest of the Prince of *East-Friseland* ; especially since his Majesty is an Elector, and *East-Friseland* a Member of the *Germanick* Body.

Osborne says, in his *Journal* of the 12th of December 1730, we must go through before we can Trade with the Empire; if the keeping of a *Dutch* Garison there, and in *Lieroord*, is detrimental to our Merchants and *Woollen-Manufactures*; if this is the Case, I don't doubt, in the least, but that you gave as good, as honest, and as truly *English* an Answer to the *Dutch* Proposition about their *Casus Fæderis*, as Lord T—— did to *that* for obtaining the Assistance of *England* in making a Peace for *Holland* with *Algiers*. But if the keeping of *Dutch* Garisons in *Embden* and *Lieroord* was really a *Casus Fæderis*, a *Case of the Tripple-Alliance*, all I can say to it is, to wish that our Ministers had been better inform'd; and must acknowledge the *Dutch* to be very able Politicians, either at making Treaties with *Britain*, or in acceding to such as she makes with other Powers: However, I hope the *English* must not always be bound up and fetter'd by the Mistakes of their Ministers; I will not give them a harsher Denomination, because, in doing so, I might, perhaps, be unjust to Men who may not have been faulty any other way than by their Errors.

BUT be all this at it will. As the *Dutch* have no Enemies to apprehend on the Side of *Groningen*; as the Power of *France*, that useful and constant *Pretext* for inventing Measures to curtail our Commerce! does not extend that way, where is the Necessity that the Republick

Republick should have *Embden* for a Barrier? On the contrary, *Britain* ought to oppose it most strenuously, because there are unanswerable Reasons to believe, that all the Efforts lately made by the States-General to continue the Garison in that Town, have been much more upon account of Trade than Security; And if they got *Britain* to second them in the Attempt, they have certainly a great deal of Reason to applaud their own Conduct, and we as much Reason to resent it. When the Treaty of *Utrecht* was carrying on, the People of *Great-Britain* were in Hopes to have *Dunkirk* restored to them; but the Objections made to it in *London*, by the *Partizans* of *Holland*, are so well known, and still so recent in the Memory of every Man, that it is needless to repeat them. Tho' we had gone on so many Years in conquering Towns for the *Dutch* in the *Netherlands*, notwithstanding all the Millions, and all the Lives which those Towns had cost *England*, without the Return of one single Farthing to herself; our dear *Allies* were so far from * intending *Dunkirk* for us, that had we even conquer'd *France* at last, not a Port or a Town would have fallen to our Share; all would have been too little for the *Dutch*.

* When the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg* was carrying on, under the Auspices of *Holland*, *Dunkirk* was so far from being intended for us by the *Dutch*, that even no Care was taken of our Trade in the Preliminaries; that important Article was to be left to a general Treaty, after *Holland* had taken Care of her own Interest in every particular Circumstance of it.

Dutch, according to the above-mention'd *Barrier Treaty*, in 1709. Tho' they were such Gainers by the Peace, which, nevertheless, they had no Mind to conclude, as long as they could prevail upon us to carry on the War; all the World knows how much they stomach'd our keeping *Gibraltar*, because it is the main Security of our Trade in the *Mediterranean*, and an *Addition to the Maritime Strength of England*. However, we very freely consented to their having *Dendermonde* included in their Barrier, tho' the Possession of it makes them, in a manner, Masters of all the Trade of *Brabant*.

The Garison, indeed, is composed of *Imperial* and *Dutch* Troops, viz. an equal number of each; but every Man who is acquainted with the Maxims of the *Dutch*, must allow those Troops there to be very prejudicial to us. As *Dendermonde* is seated at the Conflux of the *Scheld* and the *Dender*, and almost in the Center between *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, *Mechlin*, and *Brussels*, our Communication with *Antwerp*, on the Side of *Ghent*, will be entirely cut off, as often as the *Dutch* think fit; as it is already on the Side of the Sea, by their shutting up the *Scheld*; of which please to take the Sentiments of Prince *Eugene* and Count *Sinzendorf*, relating to the *Barrier Treaty* in 1709. That I may be the more impartial, I shall transcribe the whole Paragraph concerning that Town. "That the Counter-Project

of

of *England*, relating to the Places where
 the States-General may put and keep Gari-
 sons, ought to be followed, except *Lier*,
Halle to fortify, and the Castle of *Ghent*:
 Provided always that the Sentiments of
England be particularly conform'd to, rela-
 ting to *Dendermonde* and *Ostend*, as Places
 in no wise belonging to the Barrier; and
 which, as well as the Castle of *Ghent*, can
 only serve to make the States-General Ma-
 sters of the Low-Countries, AND HINDER
 TRADE WITH ENGLAND. As to
Lier and *Halle*, those who are acquainted
 with the Country, know that these Towns
 cannot give any Security to the States-Ge-
 neral, but can only make People believe,
 that these Places being fortified, would ra-
 ther serve to block up *Brussels*, and the other
 great Cities of *Brabant*."

SIR, this Paragraph is so very clear and ex-
 pressive, that it wants no Comment to convince
 you, or any Man, even of the meanest Capa-
 city in *Britain*, that the Republick had ever
 made the Words, *Security from Insults from*
her Neighbours, the *Pretext* and *Cloak* to co-
 ver her secret Designs, to get our Trade into
 her own Hands; and every subsequent Para-
 graph of the Sentiments of those Two illu-
 strious Persons, the Prince and the Count, con-
 firms my Assertions: If not, I can produce a
 Crowd of incontestable Arguments and Autho-
 rities to support what I say. You know that

Dendermonde is the Key of all *Brabant*, and is not so much a *Security* to the *Dutch* against *France*, as a *Bar* to our Trade with the *Brabanters*: This made the Republick struggle Tooth and Nail to get it included in the Barrier; and I hope you will struggle as vigorously to get it, and such other Towns in the *Low-Countries*, taken out of her Hands, as contribute, under the Title of a *Barrier* to *Holland*, to impoverish and ruin our Manufacturers and Artificers by the Loss of our *Flemish* Trade.

WE have seen the Motives which the *Dutch* had to bustle so much about *Embsen*, and to be so strenuous in their Demands to have *Dendermonde* in their Hands. I shall now give you a Third Instance of the Conduct of the Republick, as a further Proof of her *constraining Principles*, when ever she has even the least Power or Opportunity to exert them.

WHEN King *William* died, he left *John William Friso*, Prince of *Nassau Dietz*, and Stadtholder of the Provinces of *Frizeland* and *Groningen*, his sole, universal Heir; and made the States-General of the *United Provinces* his Executors. But the King of *Prussia* claiming a Part of the Succession, by Vertue of a Will made by *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, from whom he is descended by his Grandmother, *Louisa Henrietta* of *Orange*, Daughter to the said *Frederick Henry*, their High-Mightinesses made use of their Methods

of

of *Douceur*, which always have a steady Eye to the Emolument of the Republick.

By this *Douceur*, the present Prince of *Orange* is now in Possession of the Barony of *Iselstein*; the Barony of *Steenbergue*, *Rosendaal*, and *Nispen*; the Lordship of *Princeland*; the Barony of *Diest* and *Zichem*; the Barony of *Cranendonck* and *Eyndhoven*; the Lordship of *Bredevoort*; the Barony of *Oosterhout*; the Lordship of *Dongen*; the Estate in *Noordbeveland*; the Estate in *Hulster Ambacht*; the House at *Cruytberg*; and half the Barony of *Herstal*; the King of *Prussia* having the other half.

PARTLY by the same *Douceur*, his *Prussian* Majesty is in Possession of the County of *Meurs*, lately erected into a *Principality*; the County of *Lingen*; the Baillywick of *Montfort*; the Barony of *Turnhout*; half the Barony of *Herstal* above-mention'd; the Lordships of *Naaltwyck*, *Honsholredyck*, *Wateringen*, *het Opstal*, the *Hoenderland*, and the *Polder* of *Orange*; the Lordship of *Gravesande*; the high and low *Swaluwe*; the House in the *Nordeinde* at the *Hague*; the House in the Wood of the *Hague*; the Palace of *Ryswick*, and that of *Honslaardyk*. Besides which Estates, the King of *Prussia*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, gave up to *France* his Pretensions to the *Principality* of *Orange*, with four Baronies in *Dauphine*, and also to other considerable Estates belonging to the House of *Orange* in

Burgundy, and the *Burgraviate of Besançon*. In Exchange for this Cession his *Most Christian Majesty* procured for him a Part of the upper Quarter of *Gelderland*, of which his *Prussian Majesty* is now in actual Possession. It is visible here that the King of *Prussia* did not rely altogether upon the *Douceur* of *Holland* in this Partition; if he had, his Share, in all probability, would not have been so large; and as it is, he is not satisfied with it any more than the Prince of *Orange* with his.

WITH so much *Douceur* for others, you may be sure the States-General did not forget *Fatherlandt*: Not a bit, Sir. Their High-Mightinesses reserved to themselves, out of King † *William's* Patrimony, the Administration of the Barony *Breda*; the County of *Buren*; the County of *Leerdam*; the Marquisate of *Ter-Weere*, and *Flushing*; the Lordship of *Maertensdyk* and *Scherpenisse*; the Barony of *Grave*, and the Land of *Cuyck*, *Niervaaert* and *Williamstadt*; the Burgaviate of *Antwerp*; *Grimbergue*, *Meerhout*, and *Voorst*; the Lands of the Commandery of *Braake*; *Gertruydenberg*, *Monster-Poeldyck*, *Ter-Heyde*, and the half of *Losduynen*; *Dieren*, *Coldenheave* and *Traterweerden*; the Palace of *Loo*, and the Castle of *Soestdyck*.

THIS

† The Prince of *Tenghien* found Means to put himself in Possession of some Part of King *William's* Patrimony in *Luxemburgh* and *Flanders*, without the *Douceur* of the Republick.

THIS, Sir, is the Morſel which the *Dutch* kept in their own Hands, without any other *Right* to do ſo, than becauſe they thought it their Intereſt. For the ſame Reaſon we have as much Right to enter into Meaſures for reducing the Republick to her primitive Bounds of the *Seven Provinces*; ſince it is evident that what ſhe poſſeſſes in *Brabant, Flanders, Limbourg,* and the *Barrier Towns*, leſſen our Trade by ſome Hundreds of Thouſands of Pounds Sterling a Year. Yes, Sir, it is evident to a Demonſtration; and the preſent Condition of our Commerce demands Relief in the Caſe. This *Partition* opens as large a Field as an honeſt *English* Miniſter ever could, or can poſſibly hope or wiſh for, to exerciſe his Talents in; to ſhew that he has Integrity and Courage; and to convince Mankind that he has Affection for his Country. Does it afford no Opportunities of engaging the King of *Prussia* to be our hearty Friend, and drawing him entirely over to the Intereſt of *Britain*? Does it furniſh no Room for bettering the Fortune of the Prince of *Orange*? No Means for reducing the exorbitant Power of the Dutch in India, for recovering and enlarging our Trade there, but I don't mean an *exclusive deſtructive* One; for retrieving our ſinking Trade in *Europe, Africa* and *America*? Does this *Partition* point out no Ways for procuring a willing, ready, and amicable Satisfaction from *France*, for the Loſſes ſuſtained by the *British* Sufferers

Sufferers in the Visa of the *Mississippi* and *Bank* Effects; and for repairing the Fortunes of our Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Planters in *Jamaica*, who have been ruined by the *Spanish Guarda de la Costas* in *America*? If you say, Sir, that the *Dutch Douceur*, in dividing King *William's* Effects; in detaining the best Portion of them in their own Hands; and in acting contrary to the Will of the Royal Testator, who never designed any such Thing for them, furnishes you with no Opportunities of being serviceable to your Country, and obtaining Justice for your injured and abused Countrymen, I am ready, but with all due Deference to you as the Minister of my Sovereign, to demonstrate the Contrary. The King of *Prussia*, and the Prince of *Orange*, are equally dissatisfied with this Conduct in their High-Mightinesses; and it is absolutely the Interest of *Britain*, upon Account of Trade, that they should refund either to one or t'other of the contending Parties. We have been long enough the Dupes of the *Herring Packers*, *Weavers*, *Dyers*, *Packers* and *Pressers* of *Holland*; and it is Time, Sir, to relieve your Country from such a Disadvantage and Infamy, as well as to procure Satisfaction for her in other Articles.

At the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Sevil*, we were given to understand, that those unfortunate Gentlemen, our Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Planters in *Jamaica*, were

to receive Satisfaction, *previous* to any Thing *Great-Britain* was to undertake in favour of *Don Carlos*; and now, after above three Years fruitless Hopes and Attendance, since the signing of that Treaty, we are told in our Newspapers, that his *Catholick* Majesty has “ *con-*
“ *descended* to enlarge the Term for the Com-
“ missaries appointed to adjust the Differences
“ between the two Nations, with Respect to
“ the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, upon
“ the Ships and Effects of the *British* Mer-
“ chants, for Three Years longer.” This *Condescension* in the King of *Spain* must, without doubt, prove a great Consolation to the Merchants, Captains and *British* Colonies in *America*; and, for their further Comfort, I dare assure them that his *Catholick* Majesty will most *graciously condescend* to enlarge the Time to Doom’s-Day, if you desire it; or, at least, until he has no further Services to ask of *Great-Britain* for his Family: The Commissaries will be sure to feed well all the while, when, it is to be feared, many of the Sufferers may be in Distress enough for a Dinner. You know best, Sir, what Methods are taking for their Redress, or whether any is really intended for them; you also know that I told you, near a Year ago, that I could propose a Plan for their speedy Relief, without coming to any Rupture with the *Spaniards*. I now beg leave to tell you so once more, and think I have said enough for the Notice of an honest *Englishman*, as you
are,

are, who has no Design (*and it is well known you have none*) to fill his own Coffers at the Expence of the Publick; either by selling the Interest of his Country Abroad, or fettering it at Home with a *General Excise*.

As the Noise, which the Apprehension of such a Tax makes all over *Britain*, is become loud enough to be heard in the remotest Kingdoms of *Europe*, the Eyes of Foreigners are stedfastly fixed upon the Progress of that Scheme: And upon the Success or Miscarriage of it, *Britons* must pass abroad, for the future, either for Slaves or Free-Men. I remember, Sir, I told you in my Letter of the 30th of *April* 1732, that I could point out a Fund of several Millions, towards discharging the Publick Debts, without putting *Great-Britain* to the Expence of a single Farthing: Now, if I can make this good, where is the need of a *General Excise*? I also said, that the *Tobacco Revenue* might be improved, and the Home Consumer eased in the Duty; I frequently spoke against *Smuggling*; and from hence *Projectors* of a *General Excise* may, perhaps, strain Arguments in favour of so wicked a Design. I therefore think it incumbent upon me, as well through Duty to *Great-Britain*, as Regard to my own Honour, to declare before God and the World, that I never had the least View to Excises, of what Nature soever, in any Thing I ever published. I have said upon some Occasions, that the *Dutch* are worthy of

Imitation

Imitation in several Points; I say so still: But it is not in their Taxes. I have always looked upon a *General Excise* as a Step that would not only ruin our Trade, but enslave the Nation; and for this very Reason, and another as essential, I ever made the speedy discharging of the Publick Debts some Part or other of my Subject, whenever I put any Thing in Print, if the Nature of it afforded me the least Opportunity of doing so. I assure you, Sir, that I have often wished *England* had no *Excise* at all; because that Sort of Tax, under what Shape or Restrictions soever, may some Time or other become a Weapon in the Hand of a wicked Minister, to hew down *Magna Charta* with, by a gradual and artful Introduction of one *Excise* after another, until it becomes a *general one*.

You must certainly have observed, in the course of your profound Reading, and consummate Experience, that no People ever were enslaved all at a Stroke, but by a standing Army; and that such Kingdoms as lost their Liberty by the Stratagems of Ministers, received their Chains by Degrees, and were rather flatter'd than forced into Bondage. Such Ministers always had the *Publick Good* in their Mouths, when the *Publick Ruin* was in their Hearts; and ever pretended to be applying Sovereign Remedies to the Distempers of their Country, at the very Time that they were administering a mortal Poison to its Constitution.

BUT Mr. *D'Anvers* has already managed this Argument with so much Eloquence and Judgment; he has conducted it with so much publick Spirit, and with such an impartial Zeal for the Interest of his King and his Country, that it would be a Rashness in me to pretend to add any thing to what he has said upon this Head: Nor will I venture to do it. The *Liberties of England*, and the *Protestant Succession*, can no where meet with a more faithful and couragious Advocate than the Author of the *Craftsman*; nor, I hope, with a more impregnable Bulwark to defend them, than his Majesty's own Royal Wisdom and Penetration upon so important an Occasion.

BUT tho' I will not enter into the Argument, because Mr. *D'Anvers* has done it already, permit me, nevertheless, to take Notice of some Things which did not fall in his way to observe; at least in those Papers I have seen.

IT is not many Posts since I received a Letter from *Amsterdam*, wherein my Correspondent communicates to me a judicious Saying, tho' not very friendly one, of a *Dutch Merchant* in a mix'd Company, when a *General Excise* in *Britain* was the chief Subject of Conversation. " Such an *Excise*, says the
 " *Dutchman*, may possibly be the Consequence
 " of some certain People's Designs; but I fear
 " they have hardly *Power* enough to go
 " through it, or *Credit* enough with the Peo-
 " ple to flatter them, by *specious Pretences*,
 " into such a Project. Should it take place,

" we

“ we should quickly forget the Damage we
 “ have sustain'd by the Vermin: For tho' the
 “ Reparation of our Dikes may possibly cost
 “ us some Millions, a *General Excise in Bri-*
 “ *tain infallibly ruins the British Commerce,*
 “ *and consequently makes us a Present of it.*
 “ As it will inevitably impoverish that King-
 “ dom, *it will insensibly bring all the Foreign*
 “ *Trade of London to Amsterdam, as effectually*
 “ *as the shutting up the Scheld did that of*
 “ *Antwerp; and then, as the People will be*
 “ *irritated by Poverty and Dispair, if the Kid-*
 “ *der Van Foris speaks good Dutch to us upon*
 “ *that Occasion, we may possibly find it our*
 “ *Interest to listen to him.*” These are the
 Words of my Correspondent in his Letter; and
 he adds to them, that all *Amsterdam* is big with
 Expectation.

SIR, tho' this was the Reasoning of a
Dutchman, I don't doubt but you will find it
 deserves your Attention. Has not *Holland* Ad-
 vantage enough over us already in point of
 Trade? Has she not got the Trade of *India* al-
 most intirely to herself, and only left us the
 meer Offals of it, or, at least, such a Part of
 it as is rather prejudicial than advantageous to
England, as the Directors manage it? Has not
Holland got the *Herring-Fishery* into her
 Hands, as if she had the only Property in it?
 Has she not almost *ruined* our *Woollen Manu-*
factury? Has she not *engrossed* the Trade of
 the *Netherlands* from us, by *Means* of the
Barrier Towns, and the large Dominions she

has got in Property in *Flanders, Brabant, Limbourg, &c.*? Has she not, in a manner, cut us out of the *Mediterranean Trade*, by that Peace which *Somebody* made for her with the *Algerines*? Are not these Articles sufficient Advantages for *Holland*? Must they still be increased by putting more Clogs upon *Britain*? Must we give the *Dutch* new Opportunities of making further Advantages of *Pretendship*? Will the *Protestant Succession*, and the *Trade of Great-Britain*, be better secured from the Designs and Attempts of Foreigners by impoverishing the People, and loading them with new Taxes!

HERE, Sir, permit me, in discharge of the Duty which I owe to his Majesty and my Country, to assure you, as I now do upon my own proper Knowledge, that the Report of a *General Excise* to be laid upon *Britain* has given new Life to a Party abroad, which a Series of Disappointments seemed to have sunk to the lowest Dejection. This Party is very confident that the *Excise* will pass, and confirm their Boasts, that they had, a few Years ago, a *Friend in the Masquerade, whose Schemes would do Wonders for their Cause*. I believe I could name the Man, if I thought doing so would not hinder the Impression of my Letter; but I assure you I don't mean Mr. *Walsingham*, tho' the manner in which he railed at the *Pretender*, in his *Free-Briton* of the 1st of June 1732, upon the *Charitable Corporation*, has furnished some Cause of Suspicion, and puts me

me in Mind of *Sempronius's* Speech to *Syphax* in the Third Scene of the First Act of Mr. *Addison's Cato*: It is so well known, and has been so frequently put in Practice, that I need not repeat it. But, as for the rest of his Performances, I pass Mr. *Walsingham* by, as a poor, implicit Drudge, with Talents enough to be dangerous to his Country; for which I humbly refer you to his Paper of the 1st of *July* 1731, where he throws out a Bloody Sarcasm upon his P—— as previous to his Innuendo's in favour of the *Pretender* in that of the 15th of the same Month and Year. If there is any such *Ambo Dexter*, as I have hinted at, lurking about S—— I know no Man, whose Vigilance and Address is more capable than yours, to find him out, and defeat his Contrivances. When you give me leave to name him, I will tell you who, I think, is the Man; and hope you will not despise this Advice, because it comes from me, but rather look back to your Predecessor, Minister in the Reign of King *James* the Second. That Minister was so conscious of his own Integrity, and so full of Zeal for his Master, that he was deaf to all the Notice given him of *foreign Designs*; and persuaded the *King* to be so too. King *James* thought his Minister infallible, and had, afterwards, Reason enough to repent the Confidence he had placed in him. I must own, indeed, that the Case is very different at present. That Minister, how able soever, wanted several of your Accomplishments. You cannot be surprized:

prized: Nevertheless, Sir, it is always the most prudent way to keep Danger at a Distance. If you are under any Necessity for Funds, or Money towards discharging the Publick Debts (which, God knows, it is high Time to discharge, and think of easing the People of old Burthens, rather than loading them with new ones) why will you not vouchsafe to ask me, what it is I have to offer towards that End? When you please to do so, I am ready to satisfy you; and if what I shall propose is not practicable, it will always be Time enough to have recourse to a *General Excise*, if the Government is still in so much Need of Money, after Twenty Years Peace, and so glorious and honest a Minister as it has been blessed with these Ten or Eleven Years past.

As so unpopular a Tax is of much more Importance to *England* than the *Tonnage* and *Poundage* which led the way to the fatal Catastrophe of the unfortunate King *Charles* the First, let me ask you seriously, and with a dutiful Concern for the Interest of the August *House of Hanover*, who, do you think, would be a Gainer by a *General Excise* in *Britain*? Is it King *George*? By no means, Sir. Whatever Addition the *Civil List* might receive for a Year or two, by turning the *Customs* into *Excises*, I will venture to say, that it would be considerably lessen'd the Third, by so monstrous a Change of the ancient Method of levying the Revenue; and perhaps cost his Majesty more than may be necessary to name at present,

sent. The Burthen it would bring upon the Nation, to glut a Parcel of voracious Vultures and Harpies, under the Denomination of *Farmers, Excisemen, and Tax-Gatherers*, would become insupportable.

A GREAT Part of his *Most Christian Majesty's* Revenue arises from *Excise*; wherefore, I believe it will be no unacceptable Service to the People of *Great-Britain* to let them know, that the Collection of that Revenue, by *Farmers* in the Year 1724, stood the Crown of *France* in no less than 26,122,638 Livres, † *which exorbitant Charge eat up the seventh Part of the whole Revenue of the Kingdom, by the Multitude of Officers, Waiters, Excisemen, and Tax-Gatherers employed in that Service.*

At the same Time the Pay of the *Land Forces* in *France*, viz. the *French* marching Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, the Horse and Foot-Guards, the Musqueteers, the Gendarms, the Gendarmery, the *Irish* and *Swiss* Regiments, the Invalids, the seperate Brigades of Officers, the Expence of Cloathing, the Pay of the General Officers, Governors, general and particular Treasurers or Paymasters, Commissaries, &c. and the Charge of Garisons amounted but to 26,900,000 Livres; and

† Salaries alone are not what those Men live by; the under Officers have no inconsiderable Income from Bribes for Connivance.

and the Expence of the King's *Houſhold* to no
* more than 9,160,000 Livres *per Annum*.

By the *Houſhold*, I mean what is generally underſtood in *England* by the Word *Civil Liſt*, including his *Moſt Chriſtian* Maſteſty's Table; the Salaries of his Officers and Servants above and below Stairs, and belonging to the Stables; the Expence of Horſes, Coaches, Chaiſes, Waggonſ, and other Voitures; the Charge of Liveries, Muſick, Gardens, Fountains, Royal Buildings, Reparations and Houſhold Furniture; the Game, as Hunting and Hawking, &c. The Privy Purſe, Jewel-Office, Wardrobes, Play, Revels, and other Diversions. Now, if a Guinea weighs Four-pence more than a Louis-d'or, which paſſes in *France* for Twenty-four Livres, the *French* King's whole *Civil Liſt* did not amount, in the Year 1724, to quite 395,000 Pounds Sterling. In this Computation I am guided by the Weight of Gold, and not by Rules of Bankers and Exchangers, becauſe thoſe Rules are not fixed, and the Gentlemen who make uſe of them muſt live by their Buſineſs. I have alſo taken the *Civil Liſt* of *France*, the *Expence of the Army*, and the *Charge of collecting the Revenue*, as they ſtood in the Year 1724, becauſe that Time is prior to

* In this Sum is not included Penſions or Gratifications, Preſents or particular Assignments, or the Charge of Bridges, Roads, and the Pavements of *Paris*, becauſe they do not properly belong to the *Civil Liſt*, or Expence of the King's Houſhold; tho' ſome of theſe Articles are couched under that Head, in the State of his *Moſt Chriſtian* Maſteſty's Revenue.

to the *Cardinal's* Administration; and, as I have been assured, the publick Expence has not been increased by him, notwithstanding the King's Marriage, and the Increase of the Royal Family, by the Birth of the *Dauphin*, the Duke of *Anjou*, and four Princesses.

IN this Account you will please, Sir, to take Notice of three remarkable Circumstances. 1. The absolute Monarch of a great and extensive Kingdom, containing three Times the Number of People in *Great-Britain*, like a true Father of the Publick, considering the Condition of his Subjects; gloriously conquering the natural Extravagancies of Youth; and satisfying himself with a very moderate *Civil List*, tho' he is Master to take what he pleases. This heroick Self-denial outshines all the Conquests and Splendor of *Louis le Grand*. 2. The whole Expence of an Army, of an hundred Thousand Men, but equal to the Charge of the Officers and *Tax-Gatherers* employed in collecting the Publick Revenue. And, 3. This Charge of Collection very near treble to that of the *Civil List*, which is every where intended for the Support of the Royal Dignity, and the Honour of the Kingdom. This, without any farther Argument, is sufficient to shew *Britons* what they may expect whenever they are forced to put on the Chains of a *General Exeise*. Barriers, the infallible Consequence of such a Tax, set up about *London*, and all the great Cities, Market-Towns, and Boroughs of the Kingdom, would certainly be

a very agreeable Sight to *Britons*; and an incontestible Demonstration of the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

BUT, as Mr. *D'Anvers* observes in his Paper of the 16th of *December* last, “ the Practice of *Holland* has been so much trumpeted in our Ears upon this Occasion,” that I think it further necessary to observe to you, because I don't find that he has done it as yet, in the Papers I have read, at least in the Method I make use of, that a *standing Army of Excise-Officers*, can never be so dangerous in *Holland* as in *England*, tho', to my Knowledge, they are troublesome and vexatious enough to the People there; and Instances can be given of Men, even Merchants, who have suffer'd a publick Flagellation for trifling Transgressions against the *sanguinary Laws of Excise in the Republick*. Sir, I was near six Years in that Country: I pretend to know something of its Maxims and Government; and can assure you, without valuing Mr. *Osborne's Criticism*, or *Billinggate*, that there are not two Nations in *Europe* whose Constitutions are so materially opposite as those of *Great-Britain*, and the *Seven United Provinces*. In the first Place, the People there are not taxed with their own Consent; they have no Representatives like us; no Parliaments as in *France*, to make Remonstrations in Case of Oppression or Mistakes: The Provincial States are as absolute in their Province, as the most absolute Monarch in *Europe*, or even in *Asia*, in his Kingdom, I will

will not even except the Cases of Life and Limb upon some Occasions. Every City in the *Seven Provinces* is a sort of Commonwealth within itself, where the Choice of Magistrates is always in a Click of certain Families. The States-General, contrary to the Notion of most Foreigners, are not the Sovereign of the Republick, for it has no Sovereign at all. The Provinces are all equal in Power, by the *Union* of *Utrecht*; and the States of each particular Province is the Sovereign of that Province, absolutely independant of the rest. Wherefore the Orders and Placarts of the States-General for the *Reglement* of the whole Body, are of no manner of Force until they are approved and ratified by the Provincial States, who are their Principals. As those Provincial States are elective, by the little Aristocratical Juncto's in the Cities; as every Province is independant; as the States-General are but their Deputies, and accountable to them for their Conduct; as the Power, both Legislative and Executive, is in the Hands of many elective Equals, an *Excise* can never affect the Liberties of the Republick, where every Member of the States is a Guard upon the Steps and Actions of his Collegues; and where there is no *Factotum* of a *Prime Minister* to engross the Ear of a single Person vested with the *executive Power*, and to conduct the *Invasion upon Liberty*.

BUT by the *Liberties* of the Republick I mean, solely, the Sovereignty and Independance

dance of the Provincial States, and not, by any Means, what *Britons* universally understand by those *precious* Words, the *Liberty and Property of the Subject*. For tho' the States treat their Subjects, in all the common Occurrences of Life, with great Tenderness and Circumspection, and make a very human Use of their Power, that of taxing excepted, yet I can never call the *Dutch* Free-Men, until the Champions for a *General Excise* in *England* reconcile Liberty and Property with the *Taxing* of a Man without his own Consent. Is there any one Necessary of Life but what is excised in *Holland*? Does not the *Excise* paid by the Butcher, Brewer, Baker, Turf-Merchant, &c. raise the Price of what they sell above 33 *per Cent.*? Does this † *General Excise* prevent a Duty upon Exports and Imports? Does it prevent a Tax upon Houses and Lands? Does it prevent a Tax upon Servants, Horses, Coaches, Chaises, Waggon, and other Voitures,

† A General Excise in *England* will ease the Land and Houses no more than it does in *Holland*, or lessen the Customs. The *Dutch* were bubbled in this Affair at the Beginning, and really thought they were to be *Free-Men*, when they sent their Prince a-packing, but they quickly found their Mistake; and so will *Britain* too, if she ever consents to a *General Excise*, which will require at least *Forty Thousand* Men to collect it. But if an Estimate may be made by the Number of Tax-Gatherers of that Nature in other Countries, *Britain* cannot have less than *Sixty Thousand* of those honest Gentlemen; such an Army, with *Seventeen Thousand* Regular Troops in *England* and *Scotland*, and *Twelve Thousand* in *Ireland*, would form a Body of *Eighty-Nine Thousand* Men to defend our Liberties. And well defended they would be!

tures, or the *Passagie-Geld*, which all Travellers pay besides? Does it prevent the Tax upon live Cattle, and several others which I could name? No Sir; there is nothing that is consumed or used in *Holland* but what is taxed. The under-Taxes are the Spawn of that *Hydra* the *General Excise*; and the Advocates for it shew'd what Blunderers they were when they brought in the Practice of *Holland* to recommend their Scheme.

WHAT can be a greater Mark of Slavery, than so large a Catalogue of Taxes in so small a Compass of Ground? As *one Tax begets another, and Excises generate Excises*, like the Vermin that lately destroyed the Dikes of *North-Holland*, the *Dutch* became saddled with them by Degrees, by their new Masters the States, without even the alleviating Circumstances of having them laid upon them by Representatives. Sir, this is a fair Example for *Britons*, especially when they consider how Taxes have been multiplied upon the *Dutch*, since they rebelled against *Philip* the Second of *Spain*. But, in the mean Time, it must be acknowledged, that if the *Excises* and *Taxes* are exorbitant, the States themselves, both Provincial and General, the Council of State, the Treasurer-General, &c. the Burger-masters, *Scheepens*, and every Man in Power, bears his Proportion, without any Favour or Abatement: There are no *Warrants* from the *Treasury*, no *Noli Prosequi's* to excuse any great Man from Payment; which is very contrary,

as

as I have been told, to the Practice in some other Countries.

THEREFORE, how high soever the Taxes are in the Republick, the *Dutch* pay them without murmuring; and, indeed, the safest way for them is to be silent, since those Taxes are honestly applied to the Defence of the *Fatherland*: Even the Expence of keeping up their Dikes amounts to as much yearly as would maintain an Army of Forty Thousand Men. When a *Dutchman* is paying his Taxes, which he does with every Bit he puts in his Mouth, it is some Satisfaction to him to know that he is not giving from his Family what he has earned with the Sweat of his Brows, to build Palaces, and make magnificent Gardens; to buy glaring Equipages, sumptuous Furniture, Jewels, Plate, and costly Pictures, &c. to indulge the Luxury, and gratify the Rapine of a fat-gutted *Vampire*. It is worth your Notice, Sir, that there is not a Man among all the States, either Provincial or General, that spends Two Thousand Pounds Sterling a Year, within the Bounds of the Republick; the *Dutch* Magistrates and Ministers never make a Figure at the Expence of the People, nor owe their Greatness to their Country's Ruin; except we suppose that the Taxes are raised more to defend and support the Sovereignty of the States against their Neighbours, than to protect the People in their Possessions. Be this as it will, the only Man, in Post there, who seems to have it most in his Power to heap up Riches at the Expence of

of the Publick, is the *great Treasurer*, when he happens to be a *corrupt Man*; but the States have always had a very just Method of *purg- ing such Plunderers, and making them disgorge even after Death.*

I HAVE either read, or been told somewhere, that at any Time when a Treasurer-General happen'd to die in *Holland*, before he had pass'd his Accounts, the States seized all his Effects, whether in Money, Lands, Houses, Equipages, Plate, Jewels, &c. Then they examined what visible Effects he had when he enter'd upon his Employment. *That* being known, the next Thing they did, was to enquire at what Rate he lived; and if, after all, he was found to have been an honest Man, and to have lived within the Bounds of his Income, so as to save, fairly, by Oeconomy, the Treasure he left behind him, it was divided amongst his Heirs, according to the Law and Custom of the Country. But where they discover'd him to have been a *mercenary, rapacious, plundering Fellow in his Administration, and Luxurious withal*, they left his Family no more than what it might probably have had, if the Defunct had never been Treasurer. The Surplus they applied to the Use of the Publick.

Now, Sir, I believe you will highly applaud this way of proceeding, as carrying a great deal of Justice in it, and allow it a sufficient Demonstration that the States and the Ministers, generally speaking, do not grow rich in *Holland* by taxing the People, tho' they aug-

ment

ment and confirm their Power by it. But I grant, nevertheless, that the *Pachters*, of all Men the most inhuman! thrive very well by *Excises*.

THESE *Pachters* are the *Farmers* of the Republick; and tho' the States go as near as possibly they can with them in their Contracts, and the nearer the worse for the People, yet the *Pachters* never fail to have the best End of the Staff; but this will always happen so in every Country where the Revenue is farmed, and I believe would happen more so in *Britain* than in any other Nation upon Earth.

FOR it is to be presumed, that *we may not always have Treasurers like you*, Sir; and if a *General Excise* takes place, which Heaven avert! some of your Successors may, perhaps, think of establishing *Farmers* of the different Branches of it. To those *Farmers* they may give good Bargains of the Revenue, in Consideration of a valuable Bribe to themselves, as a short and certain Way to grow rich by the Publick Money, without a Terror of being accountable for it; and another Motive to engage them to establish *Farmers*, will be the getting quit of the Trouble of Collection, which will then be altogether upon the *Farmers*; so that all the Treasurer's Pains will amount to no more than the issuing the Money, for the Service of the Publick, to their respective Pay-Masters, and making what Profit he can by *Excise Contracts*, &c.

ACCORDING to the Number of *Farmers* so established, *Britons* will have so many new *Cormorants* to cram; *the understrapping Plunderers* too must also live high, and get Estates: And thus the Wealth of the Nation, and the Fruits of every honest Man's Industry, will be shared amongst authorized Robbers and Pickpockets. Therefore, how bad soever Things may be at present, I am humbly of Opinion, that it is much more eligible to let them continue as they are, than to have Recourse to Expedients, which, in all human Probability, will make them infinitely worse. For my part, I cannot help thinking, that a *General Excise* in *Britain*, would be almost as dangerous to the *Protestant Succession*, as to suffer the *Pretender* to beat up for Recruits in the Heart of his Majesty's Dominions; and, upon this Account, I hope that every honest Man in the Nation will do what he legally can to oppose it.

I ALSO hope, Sir, from what has been said by Mr. *D'Anvers* upon this Tax, to which, what I have offer'd is no more than a Drop of Water to the Sea, that you will make an happy Use of so favourable an Opportunity to shew your Affection to your Country, in securing her from the Ravage of so dreadful a Monster. At least, Sir, I persuade myself that you will shew no Countenance to a Project so incompatible with our Trade, and so contrary to the Liberties of *Britain*, for the Preservation of which, the Assistance of the then Prince of *Orange* was desired, our immense Debts

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contracted,

contracted, and the *Imperial Crown of Great-Britain settled upon the August House of Hanover.*

ONE of the first Things that King *William* did, after he was *elected* to the Throne, was to abolish the *Hearth-Duty*. This Fatherly Generosity in him was very grateful to the People; and it is in Justice to his Memory that I now mention it: But had he *impolitickly thought of* EXCISING the Nation, I believe that the far greatest Part of *Englishmen* would very soon have grown weary of the *Revolution*, and repented the Gift they had made of the Crown. Even the unfortunate and ill-advised King *James* the Second, did not, amongst all his unhappy Steps, strain his Power so much to *fleece the People*, as to *bring in Popery*, which a *General Excise* will infallibly do, if it is imposed upon *Britain*; and as infallibly answer the Expectations of his Majesty's Enemies, notwithstanding all human Means that can then be possibly taken to prevent it.

BUT should we escape *Popery* and the *Chevalier* upon such an Occasion, there is still another Danger threatening *Great-Britain* from a *General Excise*. As such a Tax would unavoidably enrich particular People, at the same Time that it impoverished the Publick, I cannot help putting you in Mind of what has been taken Notice of, an hundred and an hundred Times over by much better Pens than mine. It is, Sir, that *Rome* never fell into Slavery until the Generals and Ministers grew too rich
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for the State, and, consequently, too powerful for the Liberty of their Country. It was *immense Treasures in the Hands of ambitious Subjects, whose Crimes had left them no Safety but in the publick Ruin*, and not the *Army* alone that first enslaved the Conquerors of the World. . Those Treasures not only *bribed* the commanding Officers of the *Army*, and *debauch'd* the *Soldiery* from their Duty, but likewise *corrupted the Majority of the Senators*. Those *purchased Senators* sold the Commonwealth, and were afterwards no better treated by their haughty new Masters, than the brave, generous People, whom they had so basely and so villainously betrayed. *Their favourite Army became their Lords, and lordly Rulers the Senate found them, with a Witness*. A just Reward of their mercenary Treason against their Country!

BRITAIN has this fatal Example before her Eyes, as well as several others of the same Nature, and a much later Date. It is therefore to be hoped, that the Fate of our Ancestors, as the *Romans* were in some Respect, will keep *Bribery* and *Corruption* out of the ——— and too much *Credulity* and *Supineness* out of the Minds of *Britons*; should any Man amongst them ever attempt to tread in the Steps of the *Subverters* of the Liberty of *Rome*, and introduce a General Excise, in order to starve and bully the Nation into Slavery.

I HAVE now done my Duty, in giving you my Thoughts upon this Tax, and the Proceed-

ings of the *Dutch* in relation to our Trade; and as my Conduct in this Case is purely the Result of my Reason and Conscience; as I can propose no personal Interest from it in any respect, but rather expose myself to new Difficulties and Dangers, it would be an Injustice, which I will not even surmise you intend me, to think me impertinent in offering you my Advice for the Preservation of my Country, and the Service of my Prince. It is true, I am neither a Minister by Occupation, nor a Merchant by Profession; but still I may have come to the Knowledge of some Things which are not altogether foreign to your Duty to take Notice of: In such a Case I cannot be silent, without being guilty myself; nor can any Man reprehend me for speaking, without being conscious of his own Want of Innocence.

I REFER to my private Letter to you of the 3d of last Month, and am,

S I R,

Your Most Humble,

AND

Most Obedient Servant,

CHARLES FORMAN.



POSTSCRIPT.

S I R,

IN turning over the Second Volume of Mr. *Janicon's* ETAT PRESENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE, &c. I find another of his Panegyricks upon our Country, which I make you a Present of, that you may consider it at your Leisure. “ En 1573, (says the Author, speaking of the “ Town of *Gertruydenberg*, in Page 263) les “ Confédérés la prirent sur les *Espagnoles*; “ mais en 1589, le Prince de *Parma* la reprit, “ par la *Perfidie de la Garnison Angloise qui* “ *la lui vendit*. In 1573 the Confederates “ took it from the *Spaniards*; but in 1589, “ the Prince of *Parma* retook it by the *Treachery of the English Garrison, who sold it* “ *him*.” Whether Mr. *Janicon* had this Piece of History from any of our Friends amongst the States-General, or whether he found it in any *Dutch* Author, is not my Business, but *Yours*.

As the Omission of this Passage, in the Body of my Letter, has led me into a Postscript. I beg leave to offer a Word or two more about a *General Excise*. I have said, as is universally known to be true, that every Thing for
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an home Consumption is *excised* in *Holland*; and that those *Excises* raise the Price of almost all the Necessaries of Life, to above 33 *per Cent.* more than they would sell at, *were there no such Excises upon them.* Upon this Occasion, you may probably ask me how it came to pass then, that the *Dutch* are so prodigiously rich, under such a Load of *Taxes* and *Excises*, if, as is pretended, the like Method of *excising Great-Britain* would infallibly ruin the Kingdom? As this may probably be your Question, I shall answer it in Advance.

BUT before I proceed, I must first say something to the Word *Rich-Holland*, like several other powerful Nations, has a great many rich Men in it, and several poor ones: Those that are rich, would be much more wealthy, and the Poor less indigent than they are, were the *Excises* fewer, and the *Taxes* upon Houses and Lands, &c. lighter: This is demonstrable to any Man that can conceive a Penny to be less than Two-pence Farthing.

BREAD is about a Penny a Pound in *London*, and seldom less than Two-pence Halfpenny, or Two-pence Farthing in *Amsterdam*. Now what do you think is the Reason of this? — I'll tell you, Sir, — It is the *Excise*, and *nothing but the Excise.* Tho' the Republick does not produce Corn enough for the Hundredth Part of its Inhabitants, yet it comes as cheap to *Holland* as we can have it in *England*. The *Dutch* are always better provided with the Staff of Life than we are; of which I suppose you don't want

want Instances, even within the Time of your own Administration. They bring it from the *Baltick*, some Parts of *Germany*, the *Austrian Netherlands*, *Sicily*, *Turkey*, and other Places, where they purchase it at moderate Prices, and with Commodities upon which they make a considerable Gain; so that the *Poor* in *Holland* might have Bread at as easy a Rate as the *Poor* in *England*, were it not for that insatiable Glutton the *Excise*, that devours a Third Part, while the Baker never fails to come for a Sixth, by way of *extraordinary* Profit. The same Argument is still stronger in regard to *Flesh*, *Fish*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, &c. Thus, in the Article of Eating and Drinking, the half of every Man's Labour goes away in *Excises*, and the Practices of Retailers. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, nor do I know any Man endeavouring to deny it, that the Merchants are generally very rich (I wish ours were so too) and the Shopkeepers and Tradesmen easy enough in their Circumstances; at least they seem to be so, and keep the Wolf from the Door. For this, three principal Reasons may be assigned.

I. THERE is no *particular Minister* in *Holland* to ravage the Country, as has been partly mentioned already in my Letter. What Money is levied upon the People by *Taxes*, *Customs*, and *Excises*, is honestly applied to the Service of the Publick; it is laid out, either in Fortifications, or in the Payment of the Army, which is never more than is necessary by the Situation

Situation of the Country, and the publick Affairs of *Europe*; or in building and repairing Men of War; or in keeping up their Dikes, and maintaining their Highways and Canals for the Conveniency of Travellers; or IN THE PROTECTION OF TRADE; or in the Annual Discharge of some Part or other of the publick Debts, &c. This, Sir, is the Use to which the People's Money is put in *Holland*, and by which it circulates back amongst them again. It is not given away in *Subsidies*, *Pensions*, or *Bounties*, to petty Princes abroad. It is not levied, as I observed before, to enrich particular People: Nor is it ever sent to the Banks of *London*, or *Venice*, or *Genoa*, or *Hamburgh*, to secure a Retreat for any *rapacious Minister*, that might be obliged to fly his Country for Plunder and Corruption. These Things never happen among the *Dutch*.

2. THE States take particular Care to encourage and enlarge their Trade Abroad, as the only Thing that can support them. They know that it would be ridiculous to pretend to load the People with *Taxes* and *Excises*, and neglect their foreign Commerce at the same Time. It is their Foreign Trade; that is to say, their *India* Trade, the *Herring-Fishery*, the *Wool-len-Manufacturies*, the *Silk-Manufacturies*, the Carriage of the Products of *Europe* from Port to Port, that keep the *Dutch* from sinking under the Weight of a *General Excise*. The States are so sensible of this, that it would be Capital, nothing less than Death, in any of their

their own Members, or other Men concerned in the Administration, to take Steps prejudicial to their Trade, or to suffer such Steps to be taken by their Neighbours, if they had it in their Power to prevent them. What do you think then, Sir, would be the Fate of a *Minister* in *Holland*, who, purchased with *English*, *French*, or *Spanish* Money, or through any Motive whatever, should not only decline Opportunities of advancing the Trade of his Country, but traiterously expedite or connive at the Ruin of it, and talk of loading the Nation with new Burthens at the same Time?

3. THE Parsimony of the *Dutch* is another Reason of their bearing up, as long as they have done, under the Burthen of a *General Excise*. The Climate and Nature of the Country oblige the *Hollanders* to go well clad, and to be neat in their Houses; otherwise they would be starved with Cold in the Winter, and over-run with Vermin in the Summer. This Appearance of Wealth, both in the Garb and Habitations of the *Dutch*, has usually deceived *Englishmen*, at their first coming amongst them, into a Belief that the Subjects of the Republic were the happiest People in the World: But a little Time has always cured them of their Mistake.

To be neat in their Houses, which is no small Expence, and spruce in their Cloaths on a *Sunday*, they must pinch their Bellies all the Week; or else fill them with the meer Lumber and Refuse of Eatables, and such unwholsome

Food as often makes them very unfavoury and unfociable Companions to all the World but themselves. Would it not be very agreeable to an honest, *English Revolutioner*, with a round Family, and good, brisk Business, to sit down to a great Bowl of Cabbage with a Pound or Two of Salt Beef or Pork in it, like a Pip-pin in Middle of a great Apple; or to a Salmongondie, or a Dish of Grout, or Grey-peas, or a Red-Herring or two, instead of our old *English* Dishes? These are Dainties which may be seen every Day at the Tables of the Magistrates themselves: Not but that a *Dutchman* loves good Eating, when he can get it, as well as the *greatest* Man in *England*; but MASTER EXCISE has taken especial Care that none but a very rich Man shall commit frequent Excesses that way: And really, Sir, without Exaggeration, I have often seen appearingly substantial Dealers and Tradesmen sit down to Dinners in *Amsterdam*, which a Cobler or Porter in *London* would not be confined to, *without cursing the Man who had been the Cause of it*. Surely, Sir, the *English* have not parted with Two Hundred Millions of Pounds Sterling, since the Year 1688, to purchase such Dinners at last: If they have, the Bargain has been very dear.

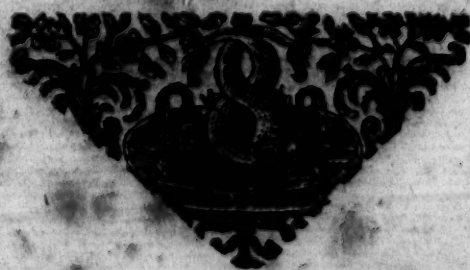
As to the Journeymen, and all those who live by bodily Labour in *Holland*, the *Excise* forces them, in spite of their Teeth, to a Frugality, which, how good soever it may be for their Souls, cannot but be very pernicious

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to their Bodies. *They are taxed like Slaves, and they eat like Slaves.* However, *Englishmen* will be better Judges of the Condition of their Neighbours, when they are forced into the like themselves; which I humbly presume and sincerely hope will not be in your Time.

It has often been asserted by Historians, that more Kingdoms have been overthrown by the *Knavery* of their *Ministers*, than the Power of their Neighbours; and more Princes undone by *their own Treasurers*, than the Conspiracies of Malecontents. But how warmly soever this Assertion may be defended by the Searchers into Records, and other Monuments of Antiquity, your Wisdom and Integrity will ever represent you to Posterity as an illustrious Exception to it; tho' the Truth of it seems pretty well confirmed, in the main, by the Treachery of *Judas*, whom our Saviour made his *Treasurer* when he gave him the the keeping of the Bag.

F I N I S.



1877. 10th Nov. 1877.
To the Hon. Secy of the
War Office, London.
Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your letter of the
10th inst. in relation to the
above subject.
I am sorry to hear that
the matter is still pending.
I have been unable to
obtain the necessary
information from the
proper authorities.
I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours,
J. H. [Signature]

